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in celebration of his 90th birthday

IN THE December 19, 1914 issue of the *New Republic*, the lead article was "A Policy of Industrial Education," by JOHN DEWEY. The magazine was then barely six weeks old, Dewey fifty-five years.

From that time forward and through the twenties and thirties, JOHN DEWEY wrote regularly and often in the *New Republic*. At least two of his numerous books grew out of series of articles first published in this magazine.

Now, thirty-five years after his first contribution, it is most fitting that the *New Republic* should devote an entire issue to honoring America's most distinguished living philosopher and educator on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday.

The issue, edited by Robert L. Hatch and James R. Newman, has been in preparation for months. The list of contributors that follows includes the well-known names of scholars and writers best acquainted with Dewey's vast and enduring contributions to American thinking and conduct.

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BOYD H. BODE — Florida — *on* EDUCATION
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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

WE HAVE in our body somewhere a little nerve that starts to tingle when we hear firm, idealistic liberalism expressed by political leaders who seem to have their feet on the ground. It was so when we heard Sir Stafford Cripps talk here the other day and we hope it will always be so.

Cripps brought suddenly into Washington's stuffy air a breath that this city knew in Woodrow Wilson's day and again in FDR's. As he rises he looks like the stiff stereotype cartoonists have made of him, a cold intellectual, a vegetarian, a pedant, an austere fanatic above human failings. As he starts to speak he immediately becomes a personality. His voice is surprisingly deep, his words lucid and logical, his talk accompanied by unexpected humor. He resembles an emaciated Wilson, the similarity being marked, in profile, by the lean lantern jaw and pedagogical appearance. His mind works like Wilson's. His appearance here—along with Bevin's—brought a sudden emotional understanding of the massive hold the Labour Party has on Britain. Heaven knows we could use men like these in Washington.

There is a dogmatic element among some rigid British Socialists that assumes US hostility, regards capitalistic instability as contagiously dangerous and takes the negative and defensive position that it must protect the British social services against the designs of rich and unscrupulous America.

While we can understand the basis for this approach we think it is a distorted picture, not shared by Messrs. Cripps and Bevin, who see British problems running far deeper than ideological differences with the USA. It is true that officials here believe Great Britain has been living beyond its means. But it can be stated with knowledge that top leaders believe the Labour Party better fitted than the Tories to persuade the common folk, if it has a mind to, to make the changes which are so urgently needed in that country.

Another point to be stressed is that US economic stability may be more important for Britain in the long run than diplomatic concessions. And here there is happy news. Unless a mass of strikes suddenly upsets the apple cart, the economic outlook in the United States should continue to improve. The fear that the leveling off of the gigantic war boom would develop into a depression has all but vanished in Washington.

John Foster Dulles is an attractive and respectable man but easily caricatured. He talks with a peculiar twist and sometimes utters his words as though he had something in his mouth. We went to a little ceremony in his office last week in which he unveiled his Senatorial candidacy against Governor Lehman. It was a quiet, gray, respectable proceeding. Dulles stood behind his desk, stooped and scholarly, in dark suit and white, detachable collar on gray shirt. About 35 reporters attended, plus three photographers who made him repeat his postures. Dulles is going to denounce "Statism" in his campaign and it is a pretty serious thing, you bet. Just what Statism is, we aren't sure. Reporters kept asking Dulles, "Is this Statism, is that Statism?" Dulles said he would make it all clear in his campaign. As we vaguely sense it thus far, it means living in a State.

It is our feeling that Mrs. Roosevelt won every trick in her dispute with Cardinal Spellman and that his humiliating visit to her was forced as much by the Church as by the untenable position he had taken. In the Dulles-Lehman Senatorial battle the

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role of the Church in New York City may well be decisive. Governor Lehman sprang at once, unqualifiedly—and, we think, nobly—to Mrs. Roosevelt's defense. The opinion is widely held here that any serious political undercutting of Lehman by the Hierarchy in the campaign would in the long run injure the Church and accentuate a situation that has already gone too far. For that reason, we do not expect it.

The story of Senator Kerr (D, Okla.) v. Leland Olds is that of the big man bullying the little man. Kerr is an arrogant oil multi-millionaire, Olds the representative of you and me on the Federal Power Commission. As Marquis Childs points out, Olds has worked two months without salary not knowing whether or not he has a job. His term of office expired in June; he was renominated, but a Congressional cabal led by Kerr is vowed to block confirmation. This is a national issue and a national committee should be formed to force a Senatorial vote on Olds's confirmation.

Notes. Quite naturally, neither side liked the Steel Fact-Finding Board's report; it seemed to us, however, moderate and sensible; it undercuts the moral position for either a strike or lock-out, justifies further negotiations and seems to show the wisdom of Truman's effort at settlement. . . . "Which is the costly permanent and which the Toni?" That question in national advertisements, together with a picture of a pair of Glamor Twins, is now settled by the Federal Trade Commission in a cease-and-desist order callously declaring that both girls have elaborate permanent waves and that the ad is misleading. . . . The $20 million loan to Tito means our government thinks he has a better than even chance to survive, that we are putting national interest before ideology, that we hope Yugoslavia, Austria and Greece may soon be reconciled and that we think Greece may no longer be left isolated on the Balkan Peninsula.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Who Owns the Oil?

SIR: I noted with interest on page 11 of your August 15 issue a reference by former Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes to ". . . the slick finding of Mastin G. White, Solicitor of the Interior, . . . that the Federal Mineral Leasing Act did not apply to the tidelands, and that therefore the Government lacked power to administer, in behalf of the people, the vastly rich oil properties that the Supreme Court had said, not only once, but twice, belonged to the people."

Although my "finding" was based upon legal authorities that were somewhat more persuasive than the official pronouncement which had been made by Mr. Ickes as Secretary of the Interior relative to the applicability of the Mineral Leasing Act to the submerged coastal lands, your readers might like to know what Mr. Ickes' views on that subject were at the time when he was Secretary of the Interior. While appearing before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate on February 5, 1946, with respect to S. J. Res. 48 and H. J. Res. 225, 79th Congress, Mr. Ickes outlined the sort of legislation which he believed Congress ought to enact respecting the administration of the submerged coastal lands, and then stated:

> Implicit in these recommendations is the thought that the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 is not applicable to submerged lands. A reading of the act will reveal that in many particulars its provisions would not fit the problems presented in the administration of submerged lands. For example, there is the matter of acreage limitation. Another problem relates to royalties and the distribution, if any, of receipts from these lands. More importantly, the problem of the submerged coastal lands was not considered when the act was passed, and Congress is entitled to and should fix its policy with specific reference to these lands.

If ghost-written, Secretary Ickes' statement of February 5, 1946, is not attributable to me, as my connection with the Department of the Interior did not begin until July, 1946.

MASTIN G. WHITE

Washington, D. C.

SIR: I overlook Mr. White's sneering suggestion that the statement that I made with reference to the applicability of the Federal Mining Leasing Act to the tidelands was "ghost-written." Suffice it to say that if I had chosen a ghost to write my statement for me, it would not have been Mr. White.

In the statement referred to, I recognize that there might be some doubt about the applicability of the Federal Mineral Leasing Act to the tidelands. But this did not mean that I would have disclaimed that act, as Secretary Krug and the Attorney General did in what I cannot but regard as an unsound opinion. When Mr. White wrote that opinion for Secretary Krug, he knew that there was a different one in the files of Interior written by the late Judge Nathan R. Margold, which had had my approval, and was to the effect that this act did apply to the tidelands. Without caring to make any invidious distinction, I may say that I have had many contacts with lawyers in my lifetime, and I have never known a better lawyer, nor one of more intellectual integrity, than Judge Margold. Besides, he was not from Texas, so that, all things considered, as between his opinion and one by Mr. White, the effect of which has been to favor the oil interests, whether deliberately or not, I would have chosen Judge Margold's.

In my statement of February 5, 1946, to which Mr. White refers, I was not taking a final legal position. I certainly would not have thrown the whole Leasing Act overboard until I was granted power under which to protect the public interests. . . .

But, even if Mr. White is correct in his implication, he proves nothing except that I changed my mind. It happens that I have never hesitated to change my mind, particularly when the interests of the public were involved. Only a knave or a fool determinedly refuses to change his mind. Mr. White might have charged that, for several years, as Secretary of the Interior, I was persuaded that California and the other coast states held title to the tidelands. And yet it was I, who, having come to doubt whether I was right, insisted upon the filing of the suit against California. It was my insistence, supported by President Truman, that forced Attorney General Clark to dismiss the proceedings that had been filed in the District Court for the Southern District of California, and bring on an original suit in the Supreme Court, which resulted in a much speedier decision.

Mr. White is entitled to whatever solace may be his as the result of any inconsistency of mine with respect to tidelands oil. The unpalatable fact is that his finding has been to the benefit of the oil companies, which continue, without hindrance, improperly to appropriate to their own profit oil that belongs to the people—that is if the Supreme Court is to be credited.

Washington, D. C. HAROLD L. ICKES

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VOLUME 121, NUMBER 12, ISSUE 1816, NEW YORK CITY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1949 **New Republic**

THE STAKES IN THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

THE HIGHEST STAKES are involved in the Washington conference of Canada, Great Britain and the United States. The highest tests are set for the three governments and their peoples.

There is a grave danger, on the American side, that we shall fail to grasp how far this crisis is due to British underwriting of nations whose free and independent existence is vital to America. There is great danger that, on the British side, pride and the imminence of a general election will prevent full recognition of what far-reaching actions Britain herself must take.

There is a further danger that governments and peoples on both sides will be so blinded by the myth of a static conflict between capitalism and socialism that they will fail to see that our ultimate purposes and vital interests are identical.

Arrogance is the worst enemy of sound judgment. There is on both sides an arrogant assumption that each has found the superior system: the British looking down on Americans as a backward people, the Americans dismissing the British as a spent people. The nonsense that the American press has peddled about loss of liberty in Britain finds its destructive counterpart in the nationalism of the British Labour Party and its fear of union with America on the grounds, as Hugh Dalton once said, that it would mean a return "to uncontrolled and unplanned capitalism, and all the miseries we knew in the years between the wars."

There is some truth, of course, in the charge that America is at the mercy of the trade cycle, but much less than some Socialists, still living in the twenties, imagine. There is some truth in the charge that socialism is the cause of Britain's difficulties. But it is a very minor aspect of the present situation.

Britain's present problems are the inheritance of the Labour Party, and not its creation. They are caused by war destruction, and by low productivity resulting from forty years of underinvestment and undernourishment prior to the war, during which output per man-hour rose by 58 percent as against an increase of two and a half times in the United States.

Under the Labour Government, Britain has made greater gains in productivity and in dollar exports than any other European country. Her problems are more critical simply because she is more dependent on foreign trade.

Nationalization is not a cause of Britain's crisis. Only 20 percent of her economy is nationalized; it is functioning better than it did in private hands, and no one in Britain proposes that it should be turned back. Nor are her trade and exchange controls socialist luxuries. America, under similar circumstances in Germany, has fostered precisely the same controls. The new social services that Labour has enacted add to inflationary pressures, and, in the case of accident and sickness insurance, permit longer absence from work. But they have little direct bearing on Britain's ability to export.

The real charge against the Labour Government is that it has ignored the verdict of the market place and moved out of step with the Western world, pursuing a nationalistic and inflationary program at a time when Britain's real problem was to cut costs and find her true level in the world economy.

These charges are partly true. The answer is not to condemn the Labour Government, but to realize that its actions rise directly and inevitably from the experiences and desires of the British people; that no other party has an alternative program, and that although the solution is up to the British people alone, they can undertake it only with our support.

The inflationary bias of the Labour Party follows generations of chronic unemployment and grinding poverty caused by the deflationary policies of Conservative governments. As long as America and the rest of the free world were gripped by rising prices, inflation in Britain, where the price rise was held to 12 percent as against 50 percent in this country, was tolerable. Now, for a year, costs and prices have been falling in America and Europe, while costs and prices in Britain are still sharply rising.

The inflation, sponsored by the Labour Party for the sake of full employment, hurts Britain in two principal ways.

First, it prevents the redistribution of resources within Britain necessary to increase productivity. Full employment, as the Labour Party defines it, means that there are always more jobs available than job seek-

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ers. One result is that there is an upward movement of wages at a time when costs must come down. A second result is that all industries seem undermanned when in fact many should be cut back in order to free resources for basic industries such as coal, textiles, agriculture and others, where labor is critically short. The one recourse—government direction of labor—is a power which the government possesses but will not use.

The second penalty of inflation has been its effect on private industry. Under protected markets and surplus purchasing power, British manufacturers are earning profits of 30 percent or more on issued capital and 15 percent on net worth. They have little incentive to cut costs, to improve their products, or to increase their sales abroad.

Taxation, which should serve to limit inflation and encourage lower costs, has the opposite effect in Britain today. When taxation exceeds 25 percent of national income, according to Colin Clark, inflation and high costs cannot be overcome. In Britain taxation is 40 percent of national income today.

"Not only is the incentive to real effort greatly weakened on the part of all classes," according to Clark, "not only does the wage earner demand higher wages because of the unaccustomed direct and indirect taxation which he now has to bear: in addition, the employer paying high marginal rates of tax becomes quite indecently willing to grant wage increases: and money and resources leak away in bonuses, expense accounts, advertising and all manner of ways."

To meet these problems, the Labour Government has organized a campaign to increase individual productivity, to advance research in basic and applied science and industrial psychology, and to increase the efficiency of private industry.

Yet today, while productivity is rapidly increasing in Germany, America and other nations, in Britain it is leveling off.

For Labour Britain this situation is extremely grave. The socialist incentives and government research that the Labour Party relies on are long-range solutions and cannot solve a short-term crisis. Devaluation is one immediate step. Yet devaluation by itself is inflationary. As Dennis Robertson says, it "may well prove to be like a pill rolled in jam—a clever child will swallow the jam and spit out the pill."

For the Labour Government there is no easy way out. It cannot greatly reduce the social services it has extended. It cannot slash wages. It cannot even engineer a reduction in the expenditures of the workers on non-essentials, which have become so tremendous in size and so inflationary in effect. For habits once established are hard to break. A shop steward in Yorkshire described to the editor of the *New Republic* how a miner had come for help in making both ends meet on his five pounds a week. "Let's see thy budget," said the shop steward, and the miner read it off:

"Three pounds for the old woman, seven and six for the football pool, ten bob for the beer, ten bob for the tobacco, eight for the ponies . . ."

"Hold on!" interrupted the shop steward, "That's four pounds, fifteen and six already."

"Right!" said the miner. "Let's start again: Two pounds for the old woman, seven and six for the football pool, ten bob for the beer . . ." and so on. His social standing had become identified with bets on his favorite football team and his fancy at Doncaster Race Track, and mattered more than his wife's well-being.

The *Economist* has argued that Britain, under any government, must reduce the food subsidies, cut taxes, ease controls, and permit a moderate amount of unemployment to develop in order to increase the mobility of labor and add that terrible but effective incentive to greater effort: fear of losing a job.

Colin Clark, once a Labour Party member, argues for more drastic measures, from his vantage point in Australia. He believes that Britain must undertake simultaneously:

To extinguish most of the national debt by means of a capital levy.
To abolish the subsidies.
To dismiss half a million redundant public employees.

"The whole mass of detailed controls would be abolished," Clark adds, "and government intervention in the economic system confined to a few strategic points."

These remedies may be too harsh. But action is needed, more drastic than the trade-union leaders and the rank and file of the Labour Party have yet understood. Because the British worker is living better than ever before he cannot be convinced that the crisis is real. And because he is working harder than ever, and far harder than the workers of other countries, he believes that if there is a crisis it is not his fault and he should not be made to bear its cost. Since he must bear it he will look for a scapegoat, and the obvious scapegoat is Wall Street.

These deep and powerful feelings dominate Britain as the general election approaches. They force a difficult test on the Labour Party. If nothing comes of the discussions in Washington, if America shows no willingness to bear a larger part of Britain's load in Asia, then, in the face of falling living standards and rising unemployment, the Labour Party must fall back on a nation-

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alistic campaign whose slogan is "Freedom from Capitalist America." Leaders such as Cripps and Attlee will disavow all such slogans, but the control of their party will pass from their hands as election tempers rise. If the Labour Party should win, it will be committed to the continuation of inflation and national controls. If it should lose it will be committed to fighting with political and economic weapons whatever good measures the Tories might undertake. In either event the Labour Party will be largely lost as a constructive force. And yet the Labour Party alone holds the confidence of British workers, and without their support Britain cannot be governed today.

In the absence of some real achievement in Washington, whichever party is returned to power seems certain to win by so narrow a majority as to make party government incompatible with the actions that Britain must take. A coalition government may follow—forcing another hard issue on the Labour Party. For coalition, to the British workers, means 1931: the betrayal of Ramsay MacDonald, followed by the means test, the hunger marches, the lean years of Tory rule. Coalition almost broke the Labour Party. Now, under different circumstances, the leaders of the Labour Party may see no choice. In the absence of some new horizon the party will break up again and the Communists will try to pull together the many strands of protest against inevitable hardships.

The *New Republic* has argued for immediate agreement on ultimate economic union. Yet people join together not only for economic benefits but because they share the same great ends of life. We share these ends with Britain. The conflict of production for profit and production for use is no conflict: both countries are moving toward an affirmative society in which welfare is assured and enterprise maintained.

Immediate union of the two economies would wreak havoc in Britain unless greater aid were forthcoming from America. This aid is needed, but it is bad in any partnership for one people to live off another. Joint acceptance of the world commitments which one partner alone cannot carry is, on the contrary, practical and necessary. If the Washington conference fails to assert in bold action the world partnership of Britain, America and Canada it may be remembered as the decisive failure.

THE WEEK

MADE WORK ON THE COAST

SAN FRANCISCO (NR correspondent)

Governor Earl Warren has outlined a public-works program to offset the growing danger of unemployment in California. At the recent convention of the AFL in Los Angeles, the Governor warned that unemployment here may reach the crucial stage this winter. Last March, the worst month, 120 in every thousand workers in California were out of a job. Today 95 in each thousand are jobless and Governor Warren says he has been advised that this ratio will increase next winter.

"We must bend every effort to produce jobs," the Governor said, "jobs that will provide work, not only for the people here now, but those coming to us from other states every day of the year." To avoid a crisis, he recommended that the state:

¶ Develop and conserve California natural resources to ensure permanent jobs.

¶ Set up well-planned and systematic public-works jobs on the national, state and local levels.

¶ Attract new basic industries with wages and working conditions that will compare favorably with any in the country.

TRADE AGREEMENTS AGAIN

The air around the nation's capital is heavy with international politics. As the crucial Anglo-American-Canadian financial talks began, the Senate opened its debate on the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program. The high-tariff fight, unlike the more bipartisan European Recovery Program and the Atlantic Pact, exemplifies intense party cohesion. Democrats have rallied to protect the program, which has been supported by successive Democratic Administrations ever since it was first drafted in 1934. Republicans have consistently grouped themselves to oppose or weaken the measure.

Senate Democrats, with only a bare majority, are having a tougher fight than did Administration leaders in the House who last February managed to block the restrictive terms set by the Republican-controlled 80th Congress, and extended the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for another three years.

The debate in the Senate has centered on the Republican-sponsored "peril-point" amendment, offered by Senator Eugene Millikin (R, Colo.), which empowers the Tariff Commission to recommend "peril points" below which tariffs could not be cut without damage to American industry. If the President exceeded these points in any trade pact he would have to account to Congress. President Truman has repeatedly called this restriction "unworkable."

Administration leaders argue that delay in extending the law (which lapsed June 30) has contributed to world instability and that each day's delay adds

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to foreign countries' fears that we preach world coöperation but don't intend to make it real in terms of concrete performance. Two weeks ago in Annecy, France, American negotiators, working with experts of 33 other countries, concluded the technical phases of a five-month effort to expand the general agreement and bring under its provisions 11 additional countries. Passage of the Trade Agreements Act is a vital necessity to the completion of their work.

The importance which the Administration has placed on reciprocal trade was emphasized when President Truman agreed last week to compromise on his farm program so that the Senate could concentrate on this important international issue. Chances are good that the measure will go through the Senate unhampered by GOP amendments, since the South is a traditionally low-tariff area and the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, which has marred so many other Administration hopes, will not be in control.

THE STEEL REPORT

By Monday of this week, the chances seemed good that there would be no strike in steel. Both sides had accepted the 10-day truce which postponed the date of the threatened strike to September 25, and the steel workers had accepted the detailed proposal of the President's Fact-Finding Board as a basis for bargaining. The attitude of the steel companies was not yet clear; if they accept the principle of pensions and other social-security benefits, to be paid for entirely by the employer, they will have taken an important step which will influence negotiations in other industries than steel. (The automobile industry has already shown a trend toward this kind of thinking.)

Spokesmen for the steel workers pointed out that the Fact-Finding Board accepted two important principles: first, the desirability of further social security, and second, putting the cost on the employer. At the same time, the steel workers sharply criticize several assumptions of the Board. They dispute the argument that wages should not be increased merely because they are already high. The union believes that real wages ought to continue to rise, not only for the sake of the workers involved, but for the good of the country as a whole. This is especially true when productivity per man-hour is continuing to increase.

Union spokesmen further deny that a wage increase is undesirable because it might cause dislocations in other industries. They still maintain the thesis set forth by Robert R. Nathan on behalf of the union, that the present upturn from the recession is only temporary, and that what is needed is to put more cash into the hands of consumers by means of wage increases.

There is criticism by the union of the Board's complacent acceptance of the present record-breaking steel profits. The Board merely said that prices ought to come down and that if they do not, the steel workers will be justified in asking another increase in wages next year. To the union leaders, this seemed an evasion of the Board's responsibility to bring wages and profits more nearly into line.

As an interested party, the union was not particularly concerned with an aspect of the whole development which struck many neutral observers: that this struggle between the steel companies and their workers was creating national policy in important areas where Congress should have set the pace.

FREE LOADERS

September and October will find some 70 congressmen—and perhaps the wives of several of them—on junkets abroad at a total cost of more than $500,000 to taxpayers. Such trips have been popular with our solons ever since they discovered that a complaisant Air Force was willing to take them almost anywhere free of charge.

Last fortnight some of these plans were momentarily dashed when Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson protested a proposed trip around the world by a group of Senators. After loud roars of rage from some of these lawmakers, the issue was hastily compromised with the statement that such trips would be permitted when "in the national interest and necessary to the conduct of government business."

Problems of economic and military aid for Europe, displaced persons and immigration quotas have given junketing congressmen more excuse this year for free-loading plane trips. The public can hope the following scheduled trips will be worth the expense:

¶ Eight members of the House Committee on Immigration Affairs, headed by Representative Francis E. Walter (D, Pa.), are on their way to Germany and Italy to study the "repatriation and resettlement" of DP's.

¶ Representative Eugene Worley (D, Tex.) and three other members of the House Agriculture Committee have undertaken the dubious task of "looking into foot-and-mouth disease in Germany."

¶ About 10 members of the Senate Military Appropriations subcommittee, headed by Senator Thomas, have scheduled a tour of the 11 Marshall Plan nations (and a visit to Madrid).

¶ Eighteen members of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments will go to Europe and the Far East. Their mission, according to Representative Harold Louvre (R, S. D.), is to see whether "American dollars are being spent wisely or unwisely."

¶ Sixteen members of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee are bound for Europe this week on a multi-purpose junket to study "the national health programs in England, Sweden, and other European countries; the recent developments in transportation such as the new jet-powered civil air transports now being tested in England; and synthetic fuels and their production processes, as well as matters relating to the petroleum industry."

¶ A five-member subcommittee of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee plans to study the proposed Trans-Isthmian canal through Central America.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

Damascus is a long way from Washington but the phase of Middle Eastern politics which was begun with the murder of Syria's would-be dictator (and reformer) Hosni Zaim has a direct bearing on matters which brought Sir Stafford Cripps to the American capital. And the troubled waters of Anglo-American economic relations are not likely to get any soothing from the oil of Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Qatar and Bahrein.

The disappearance from the Syrian scene of Zaim was a great blow to James H. Keeley, the American Ambassador. It was no such thing to the British Ambassador or to the British Colonial Office. The French Ambassador, who had just presented Zaim with a sword that had once belonged to Napoleon III (in exchange for not inconsiderable favors to France), was deeply grieved.

Before Zaim was killed, President Truman's Point Four—the promise of large-scale economic aid—was well on the way to becoming the successful instrument of American dominance in the Middle East. With Zaim's removal without benefit even of a drumhead trial, rather older methods at which Britons have excelled in the past seemed more likely to have a chance of success. King Abdullah el Hashemi of Transjordan, who owes his throne to Winston Churchill and the Colonial Office, hastened to recognize and congratulate Zaim's successor, the 84-year-old Hashem Atassi, an old-guard figurehead. Soon afterward Abdullah was in London talking to Ernest Bevin. Other leaders of the Hashemite faction also went to London, where a full-dress meeting of British diplomats in the Middle East considered methods of coping with Point Four while there still was time.

The stake in the Middle East is enormous. Strategically, it is one of the key places in the duel between the Western world and Soviet Russia. But economically it is an area in which the "inner contradictions" of the Western world are most serious. Washington and London are agreed that the Middle East must be defended along the line of the "roof"—the mountain frontiers of Greece, Turkey and Iran. But they are not agreed about the second line of defense—the home fronts of the Arab countries where Communism might exploit dire poverty and social inequalities of long standing.

There is a simple reason for this disagreement—oil. If present plans work out, the production of the area will be about 156 million tons in 1956 as compared with about 35 million tons in 1946. The Americans and British agree that the Russians should not get this oil; that is about as far as they agree.

As the oil is extracted, there will be great benefits to the governments of the Middle Eastern countries, perhaps $6 billion in the next 10 years in oil-company royalties and local expenditures. But until the great increase in production takes place, only the Americans are able to buy their way into the favor of the local politicians; whatever Point Four may be strategically or altruistically, it is also an instrument by which the American oil companies can get advantages over their British competitors. The British have to use political means.

This they are doing. Before Zaim was murdered, he had signed an agreement with the Arabian-American Oil Company to permit the construction of the American Trans-Arabian Pipeline (TAPline) from Saudi Arabia through Syria to the Lebanese coast. Now that Zaim is gone, the British are busy helping the Anglo-Iranian and other British companies by additional political changes. The purpose of the conferences in London was to take quick advantage of the setback to the Americans involved in Zaim's removal.

The goal is to create a pro-British Arab state, the "Golden Crescent" or "Greater Syria," that will include Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and the Arab portions of Palestine. Egypt, which has thus far dominated the Arab League as the most important Moslem state in the Middle East, has been and is bitterly opposed. So are the Americans and French. The "favorite instruments" of the British are Abdullah and Nuri Pasha of Iraq, both representatives of the so-called Hashemite faction. Ibn Saud of Arabia seems willing to go along with Abdullah on the ground that only a Greater Syria can (to quote the London *Times*) "contain the expansionist policies of Israel."

While Nuri Pasha, visiting Egypt in an effort to conciliate King Farouk, denied that Iraq had any part in the Greater Syria plan, and while similar denials were coming from Damascus, Bagdad and the Colonial Office, Abdullah frankly told a correspondent of *Al Misri* in London that all this was nonsense: Greater Syria would be created and the Hashemites would govern it, he said.

In Tel Aviv, the Israelis realized what was in the wind even before Ihsan el Sherif, Syria's Minister in Turkey, said after the death of Zaim that "the Damascus government intends to change its policy toward Israel." Bevin, who (despite other qualities) clings to a passionate prejudice against Israel and to an equally passionate desire to cripple the new state, is now expected to turn Abdullah away from his previous mild friendliness toward the Israelis.

But there are larger issues involved. No matter what strategic bases the American and British military forces can hold in such places as Saudi Arabia, Cyrenaica, Transjordan and Cyprus, the "roof" line cannot be protected without a base in the canal zone of Egypt. If the British "Greater Syria" policy alienates the Egyptians even more than it has up to now, if the British fifth columns undo the work of Point Four, the effect will be to give the Russians matches they can use on the oil of the Middle East.

PERCY WINNER

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FEDERATION WITH BRITAIN?

IN OUR ISSUE of August 29 we published an editorial discussing the possibility of an ultimate federation, in greater or less degree, between the United States and Great Britain. While we said that "we are not recommending immediate union," the editorial added:

We are advocating an immediate agreement on the principle that union is the goal. We see no other clear way beyond the present difficulties. This seems to be one of those rare moments when timidity can make a passing crisis permanent, while daring can transform it into a new opportunity.

We have received a number of comments on this editorial, several of which appear below. Others will be published in later issues.

Your editorial, "Dollar and Pound for Better or Worse," is most interesting and constructive. I deeply believe in the necessity of British-American coöperation and intimate working together but think it best we operate as separate entities, certainly for the future, rather than attempt to amalgamate politically now.

CLAUDE PEPPER

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

What you say in the editorial needs to be said over and over again. I fully appreciate the controversial nature of the suggestions for union you make, but I am convinced that world peace lies in the direction of common understanding that world government and international union must inevitably come. To the extent that we adopt programs bringing us close to that ideal, to that extent do we make constructive efforts toward world peace and toward the preservation of our civilization and a better life for men and women.

I have particularly regretted the recent barrage of criticism against Great Britain. To my mind this has been a concerted attempt to discredit the British Labour Government, the government duly chosen and elected by the British people. The future of democracy in Europe lies with groups such as those represented by the Labour Government, dedicated to political democracy and social and economic change and justice. In that connection I was immensely pleased to read a recent issue of the *Economist* with its frank observations and analysis of the accusations which have been made against Great Britain.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Your editorial is a most interesting, stimulating and provocative argument and certainly deserves the fullest attention. It raises many fundamental questions with respect to the economic relations of the United States and England, but, equally important, it poses the fundamental problem of dollar exchange for all countries.

We in this country cannot long continue to operate with tremendous excesses of exports over imports unless we are willing to undertake substantial loans of a continuing nature and for long-term periods, or unless we are willing to do something rather substantial to assure the transfer of foreign exchange into dollars on some basis whereby we shall hold substantial amounts of this foreign exchange. The only real alternative to that, of course, is lots of American investment going abroad, but there doesn't appear to be much prospect of this from private funds at the present time.

It might be highly desirable for this government to underwrite overseas investments by Americans, but again this must be handled in such a way as to assure that there will be no serious interference of a political nature on the one hand, and, on the other, that the investors should receive a substantial and fair return, while exploitation is limited. In this present-day world we cannot expect to invest abroad and exploit foreign countries under the old colonial concepts.

It seems to me that our whole financial thinking on the international front these days is extremely superficial, and geared only to meet day-to-day crises, rather than attempting to develop the kind of programs and policies which will have long-run significance. Perhaps this reflects a lack of true liberal thinking on the part of those who lead our governmental policy-making establishments in this field; but it is certainly to be hoped that among the best minds in this country who are expert on this international matter there will be some way of distilling the best thinking and bringing about the kind of program which will be helpful to us and to other countries and to the combination of all countries which are interested in the democratic process and which really seek stability and economic prosperity and well-being for their people.

Washington, D. C. ROBERT R. NATHAN

Your editorial is an admirable statement of inescapable facts and contains a logical suggestion for meeting them which I hope will stir up constructive discussion and will immediately result in short-term actions ultimately consistent with some form of union with the British Commonwealth.

I have heretofore hesitated to advocate a union of English-speaking peoples lest advocacy of it should work against ultimate world federation or widen and deepen the British Channel, which has historically set off Britain from Western Europe. I have been afraid, moreover, that Anglo-American union would be of an imperialist order vis-à-vis large areas of the world.

Those fears still persist. But I am coming to believe that

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a non-imperialist union could be worked out on terms which would not magnify other divisions among the nations or hinder the eventual achievement of world federation.

I do not see much hope of the salvation of Great Britain or of the British Commonwealth as a powerful force in the struggle for democracy except by closer cooperation all along the line with the United States. I suspect that if the British people cannot find a decent living in some sort of partnership with America (other than military alliance in the Atlantic Pact), sooner or later they may turn to a partnership with the USSR. Any good partnership must be more than military. The day could easily come when the British people would prefer for their real security Russian grain and lumber to American bombers and atomic bombs.

New York City NORMAN THOMAS

Your argument for British-American union is perfectly logical and, for that very reason, suspect.

Undoubtedly the United States and Great Britain should unite along the lines you suggest, and will unite—if they survive. But I doubt that it is psychologically possible to raise the issue now. You may try to raise it. You may think you are raising it. You may in fact raise an issue, but it will not be the one you intended to raise.

It will take twenty years of intensive educational effort to lift American political thought to the level at which it can comprehend union. There is a word in the vocabulary of American politics that is spelled with the same letters, but it doesn't mean union. It doesn't mean any one thing to two segments of political thought. To some it means the triumph of George III, to others that of the Orangemen, to others that of the House of Peers, to others that of J. P. Morgan—certainly he is dead, but so is George III—and to two-thirds of the electorate, it means the defeat of George Washington. To establish the correct definition of "union" in the minds of a majority of voters will, I repeat, take two decades.

For the *New Republic* to argue the issue is all very well; but for God's sake, let's not toss this Chicago pineapple into either the House of Representatives or the House of Commons.

Baltimore, Md. GERALD W. JOHNSON

I have read your editorial with a great deal of interest. In my opinion it is very constructive and I hope it will have broad distribution, particularly in administration circles.

You are right about the difficulties facing the delegates, but I am hopeful that "the bold and courageous action by Britain and broad and generous support by America" can be achieved. There is nothing more important in the world economy than that we collaborate with Great Britain, and soon.

I do not believe that we should revalue gold—one of the greatest problems we are facing here is inflation, and such a move would be clearly inflationary. However, your other suggestions are most constructive. Let's hope that the delegates will approach the problem in that light.

New York City H. W. GRINDAL

I have read with interest your editorial in the *New Republic of* August 29. In a sense my reaction is, of course, that I like it because I like any editorial that recognizes the value of any extension of the federal-union concept.

But because I honestly think that the time may well be here when we can push the extension of the federal-union concept at a much more rapid rate, I am more impressed with the line being taken by the Atlantic Union Committee.

New York City ELMO ROPER

I agree with your estimate of the importance of improving the dollar position of Britain, and of coöperation between Great Britain and the United States in economic stabilization and development. On the other hand I doubt whether solution of the emergency problem would be aided by dealing with it in the framework of a long-run political program. Such a program as you suggest would probably be considered by the Labour Government to weight the scales against their Socialist experiment and to favor the Conservative Party.

It seems to me there is a better chance of meeting the emergency and gaining coöperation from the British government now in power by confining the negotiation to the economic problem, perhaps modifying the Reciprocal Trade Agreement to lower materially our tariff on exports from the sterling bloc and at the same time reducing the dollar exchange value of the pound. Such a program, if linked with an energetic development of the Point Four program in India and other countries in the sterling-area bloc and the establishment of a continuing committee of the British and American treasuries to deal with stabilization problems jointly, might meet the emergency.

Surely the American people recognize sufficiently their interest, both political and economic, in continued British recovery to support such arrangements. The effort should be made to develop such special Anglo-American arrangements, with a view to creating conditions under which the United Nations Monetary Fund and Bank for Reconstruction and Development can assure stability and recovery. Prompt American and British ratification of the charter of the International Trade Organization would be another important step toward meeting the long-run situation.

The principles of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as economic common sense, require that the United States increase its imports more than its exports in harmony with its creditor position. Unless the President, with support of Congress, acts wholeheartedly in accordance with this condition, we cannot expect either world economic stability, British recovery, or continued American prosperity.

University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. QUINCY WRIGHT

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CITIES WITHOUT WATER

by Bernard Frank and Anthony Netboy

TUCSON, ARIZONA, like many other American cities, is facing a critical water problem—far worse than most of its inhabitants realize. It is using up its water supplies faster than nature can replenish them. And unless it takes radical steps, Tucson's dreams for continued growth and prosperity will vanish.

Los Angeles is in the same trouble. So are San Diego, Newark, Philadelphia and Atlantic City.

Water is the one resource without which man cannot live. Wherever he settles, he must have it. And when one source of water is overdrawn it is difficult and very expensive to find another.

Fifty years ago, water could be obtained for municipal use with relatively little difficulty in the humid areas of the United States by tapping almost any local stream. Natural streamflow was usually fairly reliable, even during dry periods, and industrial pollution and siltation not very conspicuous. In the past half-century, however, a revolution has taken place in the American standard of living, and at the same time despoliation of the land and waterways has radically altered the situation.

Progressive land abuse has contributed markedly to the visible deficiencies in available surface and subsurface water supplies for municipalities and for farmers and other consumers as well. Over a large part of the country the normal relationships among soil, its vegetative cover and waterflow conditions have been seriously upset—by the sequence of land clearing and the building of roads, highways, airports and towns; and by compaction or erosion of the soil and mutilation of plant cover on forest, grass and croplands through fire, destructive logging, improper grazing and other malpractices. These disturbed relations manifest themselves in increased and aggravated flood discharges, including sedimentation and mudflows, or in water shortages.

Fast flood runoff means that less water is able to soak into the soil to maintain the flow of streams during dry periods, or to enter deep rock strata to recharge underground sources. Losses of soil—by the splash of raindrops on bare earth and by water rushing over the surface of improperly protected or misused land—also produce serious consequences. The capacity of the soil to store up water decreases and stream channels and reservoirs are subject to increased siltation, thus impairing the quality of surface waters. (One can hardly find a stream around settled areas in the United States which doesn't acquire a sickly color after every heavy rain—telltale evidence of serious erosion on the watershed.)

While available supplies have been declining sharply, rising standards of living have produced a geometric increase in municipal water requirements. Indoor plumbing has been added to the bulk of dwellings. We wash and bathe more often than our ancestors did, and our clothes are generally laundered more frequently. We have acquired artificial, year-round refrigeration in the home and air conditioning in factories and offices. Public swimming pools and street hydrants abound and are used intensively. We require a great deal of piped water to coax grass, flowers and shrubs to grow in cities and suburbs. Finally, the increase in manufacturing has enormously augmented the drain on urban water supplies.

An inkling of the remarkable growth in demands for water is provided by the city of Chicago. In 1880, with a population of 500,000, the burgeoning metropolis was consuming 140 gallons per person daily, or almost 26 billion gallons a year. By 1940, Chicago, with 3.4 million inhabitants, had become a great manufacturing center and was using about 290 gallons per person, or 360 billion gallons annually.

Nowadays most of our cities and smaller towns must resort to costly and ingenious devices to get pure water. Surface waters can no longer be tapped merely by diverting the natural flow of streams into conduits. Reservoirs have to be built and as population grows aqueducts are extended farther and farther into the countryside. Los Angeles, for example, taps the Colorado River 250 miles away, and New York City has pushed its aqueduct 150 miles into the Catskills.

Whether derived from streams or reservoirs, the raw waters must usually be treated by complex chemical processes to make them fit for consumption, and even then home water softeners may be needed. Building adequate reservoir storage is but half the problem. Because silt is piling up into most reservoirs and

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Anthony Netboy has been a free-lance writer and has worked with several government agencies, including the US Forest Service.

Frank and Netboy are the authors of the book, Water, Land and People, to be published next year by Alfred A. Knopf.

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robbing them of usefulness, municipalities must be on the lookout for additional storage capacity.

Cities depending on underground supplies are generally no better off than those which look to surface sources for their water. Reserves accumulated in deep rock strata are being used up much faster than nature can recharge them. The resulting drop in ground water levels has been reflected in wells running dry in summer, giving out entirely, or in the intrusion of sea water or seepage from polluted rivers. These recurrent calamities have forced engineers to conduct intensive and often frantic quests for new sources of underground supplies.

Tuscon, located in the semi-arid Southwest, illustrates the gamut of water problems faced by many municipalities.

With rainfall averaging only 11.5 inches a year—around one-fourth of what Washington, D. C., gets, for example—Tucson can exist only by virtue of underground water derived from snow and rain in the mountains south of the city. But this water is very hard and alkaline, and must also be ammoniated and disinfected to meet public-health standards.

The same underground sources which make it possible for Tucson to exist must also furnish water to more than 115,000 acres of irrigated farmland in the Santa Cruz Valley, which produces long-staple cotton, livestock feed, dairy products and poultry.

Some of Tucson's water problems are due to the competition for the same "water holes" by urban residents and irrigation farmers. Because there are no state or local restrictions on well-drilling or pumping of underground water, anarchy in water rights prevails.

The present crisis has been precipitated largely by the amazing expansion of Tucson in the last decade. The area was an important war center, supporting extensive Air Force installations and a large airplane-assembly plant. Many GI's who were stationed there decided to come back and make their homes in the sunny city with its salubrious climate. In addition, Tucson has been widely advertised, particularly by the airlines, as an unrivaled winter resort and health center. The permanent population is now estimated at 126,000, compared with 37,000 in 1940, and the winter transients run into the thousands.

Pumping rates in Pima County rose from 80,000 acre-feet in 1940 to 129,500 acre-feet in 1945. Water levels in the vicinity of Tucson are reported by the US Geological Survey to have dropped a maximum of 25 feet between 1940 and 1947 alone. Sixty percent more water was being pumped in 1945 than in 1941, or one and a half times the safe yield, with about half the increase attributable to the heavy draft by irrigation farmers. Water levels are now down as much as 300 feet in places, and it has been necessary sometimes to drill 800 feet before obtaining an adequate supply.

There is not enough water under present arrangements to meet all the requirements of urban and suburban residents, resort establishments, Southern Pacific railroad shops, the University of Arizona (which is located in the city) and valley farms. If present trends continue, Tucson may wake up some day to find that its oasis has dried up under its feet.

As there is no hope of materially raising ground water levels, since precipitation is inadequate to recharge them at rates even approximating current depletion, Tucson's only way out is to find dependable distant sources of water.

The construction of a dam and reservoir on the adjacent San Pedro River watershed has been suggested by the Bureau of Reclamation in its comprehensive plan for the development of the Colorado River basin. This, and a 70-mile pipeline to bring the water to Tucson and the surrounding agricultural area, would require an estimated initial expenditure of about $16 million. The Reclamation Bureau, however, has said that it will not launch projects in central Arizona until the state enacts legislation that will eliminate the present chaos in water rights. Moreover, even if the San Pedro development is approved and finally carried out, no safe water supply is guaranteed unless radical changes occur in land-use practices. At least part of the watershed in which the reservoir would be built has been so seriously impaired by decades of overgrazing that the products of soil erosion may be expected to silt up the reservoir rather quickly.

Los Angeles, and Southern California generally, are almost as precariously supplied with water. Los Angeles obtains a large portion of its supply from Lake Mead, behind Hoover Dam on the Colorado River. Although it was built to last for centuries, engineers estimate that, owing to very high siltation rates resulting from natural and man-made erosion, Lake Mead will begin to lose its usefulness within about

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35 years and its capacity may virtually vanish in a century thereafter.

Ultimate solution of the city's plight may take one of several forms. Population expansion could be stopped arbitrarily. Since competition for water is severe among residential, industrial and agricultural consumers, Los Angeles may have to decide whether it wants more orange groves, factories or family dwellings. It cannot expand indefinitely on all fronts without finding new sources of water, perhaps reaching out as far as the Columbia River—an enormously costly procedure.

The northern New Jersey cities typify the kind of water problems found in Eastern Seaboard communities.

Around industrialized Newark, supplied by subsurface sources, many wells have been drilled so close together that water levels were drawn down in 1947 to 240 feet or more below ground. Engineers report that there is grave danger that safe yields have already been exceeded and sharp diminution of the supply is imminent. Salt intrusion from the Passaic River and Newark Bay has already rendered some wells unfit.

Around Atlantic City the level of wells has dropped 100 feet below the former stationary depth, threatening an advance of salt water even if pumping rates go no higher.

Artificial and natural measures to increase the recharge of depleted sources must be resorted to if these communities are to be continuously supplied with all the water they need. Better land-use practices on New Jersey farms and in its forests would help if applied quickly and on a large enough scale.

Philadelphia's water problem is more a matter of quality than quantity. Its sources of supply, the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers, are in atrocious condition because of unparalleled dumping of wastes from coal mines, raw sewage and other filth. Remedial measures are complicated, costly and time-consuming.

In the final analysis the problem of coping with municipal water needs is inseparable from land and water conservation generally. Whether the sources of supply are above or below ground, the basic correctives must ultimately be applied in an integrated manner to the land which "manufactures" our water. It will not be enough to clean up the rivers, or control the use of underground waters. We must also rehabilitate soil and cover on denuded or abused watersheds where water first collects before we can offer thirsty cities hope for assured supplies.

THE ELECTRICAL WORKERS MEET

by Ellington Smith

THE PAST YEAR has been a rough one for the left wing in the CIO as a whole. It has been fairly good, however, for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, third-largest CIO affiliate, with a membership variously estimated as between 400,000 and 600,000. The showdown will come in the UE convention beginning in Cleveland on September 19. In advance, some of the right-wingers and all of the left-wingers are making conflicting claims of victory.

A combination of powerful forces wants to defeat the UE's ruling triumvirate of President Albert W. Fitzgerald, Secretary-Treasurer Julius Emspak and Organization Director James J. Matles. It includes a portion of the union rank and file, local leaders, spokesmen for the Catholic Church, and the influential anti-Communist leaders of the CIO's dominant wing, including Philip Murray, Walter P. Reuther and James B. Carey.

The Fitzgerald-Emspak-Matles team has lost ground. Employers have withdrawn recognition from the union; locals have pulled out to join other CIO unions, such as Reuther's United Automobile Workers. Fitzgerald has confirmed rumors that UE officers will accept instructions from the convention to sign non-Communist affidavits so as to qualify for the processes of the Taft-Hartley Act—a tactic now adopted by almost all the left-wing unions and, to some degree, a sign of weakness.

Even more dangerous to the UE's leadership is the fact that on October 31 the CIO itself will convene in Cleveland, prepared to continue the attack on Communists and "fellow travelers" begun last year in Portland. The probability is that weaker left-wing unions, such as the Farm Equipment Workers, will be expelled.

The UE leaders express a hope that the Left will not be "crushed." They suggest, belatedly, that "domestic issues" are going to become so important that the CIO's top officers will ease up on the Communist issue. Their hope is that the need to concentrate on mass unemployment and other "bread-and-butter" problems will prevent any indulgence in the luxury of an internecine labor war.

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This hope is almost certainly futile. Time is running out for the Left, and it is doubtful that even a sensational reconciliation between the United States and the Soviet Union could save the heads of those who broke with established CIO policy to support the Progressive Party and denounced the Marshall Plan in terms identical with those used by the *Daily Worker*.

The extraordinary fact remains that the Fitzgerald-Emspak-Matles group has maintained, at least temporarily, substantial control of an important CIO union. The explanation lies both in the personalities of the leaders and in the nature of the opposition.

It is customary to refer to Fitzgerald, the ruddy-faced, heavy-jowled union president, as a "stooge" for the Communists. Actually, he is a thoroughly competent leader. Top men in the CIO hoped after Portland that Fitzgerald would turn against Emspak and Matles, but the hope proved vain. These two other members of the UE team are admitted to be men of remarkable ability. Each has been openly accused of holding membership in the Communist Party, yet the UE rank and file seems more bored than excited by the charges.

As opposed to the Fitzgerald-Emspak-Matles team, with its combination of talents and its command of the union organizers, the union treasury and the union newspaper, the right wing is ill-equipped for a showdown fight. In many of the locals the right-wing leadership has failed to gain the confidence of the rank and file.

Jim Carey, who fought Emspak and Matles until he was forced out of the UE presidency eight years ago in favor of Fitzgerald, has prestige with the general public. His position as CIO secretary-treasurer and his representation of the CIO in forums, international labor conferences and similar groups make him well-known. But he is not strong in his own union; he has been so smeared, over the years, that many UE members, even if they broke with Emspak and Matles, might be reluctant to rejoin Carey himself.

The situation was entirely different three years ago when the United Automobile Workers was torn by a struggle over Communism, and the anti-Communists had the brilliant leadership of Walter Reuther. Reuther already was entrenched in a union vice-presidency, he was widely known by the members, and he had the elements of a personal organization.

In no other union have spokesmen of the Catholic Church been so active in anti-Communist operations as in the UE. The Reverend Charles Owen Rice of Pittsburgh has vigorously participated by appealing to UE Catholic communicants to join a crusade against Fitzgerald, Emspak and Matles.

When the Reverend Henry Paul wrote an article in an Erie, Pennsylvania, Catholic paper, intimating that in the election of convention delegates a vote for the Fitzgerald-Emspak-Matles candidates was a vote "against God," 5,000 members of Erie Local 506 cast their ballots three to one in favor of the left-wingers—though probably a majority of the union members are Catholics.

A rightist spokesman expresses the belief that, even granting a victory this year by the Fitzgerald-Emspak-Matles team, it will be their last triumph. Yet under any circumstances the rearguard defense executed by the United Electrical Workers' officers has been a masterly campaign.

They have had to endure the ignominy and the tactical disadvantage of hearing their union members treated as suspect by the Atomic Energy Commission, which has contracts for highly secret work with private corporations hiring UE members. They must walk carefully in dealing with many companies with which the UE has contracts. Remington Rand and other firms have taken advantage of the situation to cancel relations, and the UE has been forced to accept these blows because, due to resistance to the non-Communist affidavit, the union could not get on the ballot for National Labor Relations Board elections.

In the face of these troubles, the organizational machine built by Emspak and Matles apparently has done a fairly effective job in representing the majority of UE members—in processing grievances; in running a long strike at the Singer Sewing Machine Company at Elizabeth, New Jersey; in holding the adherence of the Singer strikers in an election conducted under the local processes of New Jersey law. The right-wing attack in many areas has been driven back. Even in western Pennsylvania, where the big Westinghouse Local 601 voted for the Right, the majority of delegates chosen from the whole region were candidates supported by the left wing.

To win these victories the Left has paid a heavy price. It has lost Ohio, where the Right is now firmly entrenched. Per-capita dues payments of active members to the CIO have dropped so sharply that for the officers to claim 600,000 members, which the union actually had during the war, is an unusually ingenious exercise in mathematical semantics.

If Fitzgerald, Matles and Emspak win in the convention, the lesson may be that, though American workers are overwhelmingly anti-Communist, the UE rank and file has not yet found any right-wing challengers for leadership to whom it is willing to transfer its support and confidence.

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THE SCIENTISTS LOOK AT THE FUTURE

by A. G. Mezerik

LAKE SUCCESS

MOST DAYS and most years the activities at Lake Success are dominated by the men whose active concern is the present. The Security Council rings with the voices of representatives of jealous nationalisms tugging for temporary advantage. Angry men seek to further their narrow political, economic and military objectives.

But these last three weeks have been wonderfully different. The United Nations has staged a meeting of men who are thinking about the future. Seven hundred scientists from 50 countries, brought together in the United Nations Scientific Conference for the Conservation and Utilization of Resources, have been pooling their knowledge, making it freely available to one another.

The information is needed for reasons to be found in the vital statistics of the world. In many parts of the world population is increasing rapidly. The problem of providing future supplies of food and other essential resources in amounts sufficient to assure new millions a fair standard of living offers a challenge by comparison with which the usual headaches presented in the morning papers are tiny.

The scientists revealed, along with reports of significant new processes, some great gaps in our utilization of our world. In the light of newer knowledge it becomes clear that we have bypassed elementary energy sources—the sun, the wind and the tides. Though we feel that we know the physical world, the oceans—covering more than 70 percent of the world's surface and rich with minerals, grasses and fish—are still unexplored. So is the air. The land areas, with which we are most intimate, are under-used; the tropics and the cold regions are almost untouched, and even the most thickly settled regions produce only a tiny part of their potential.

We are only now learning that many materials which we waste have great value. Things formerly discarded are being transmuted into resources. Supposedly waste lands take on new values.

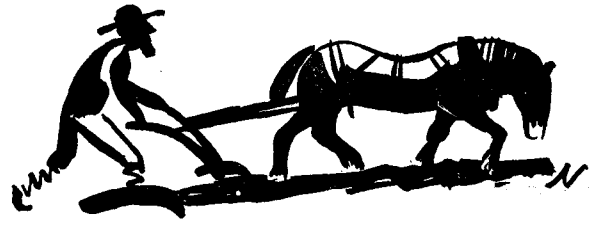
While many papers dealt with the old and familiar physical world, the scientists also raised the curtain on a new one. We now produce resources and substances which were previously unknown. We release forces that in quality and intensity are not to be found in the natural world. These are the scientific signposts which emerged from UNSCCUR.

A. G. Mezerik, industrial consultant and magazine writer, is the author of several books dealing with economic and political problems.

Since every facet of human life is or can be affected by all this, it is the more amazing that man's relationship to these resources was not on the agenda—a factor which gave an air of unreality to the discussion. The omission was deliberate. The conference had been ordered—in the directive given it by the UN Social and Economic Council—to sidestep the human side of conservation and resource development. Because of this politically induced prohibition (for which the British, the Russians—who finally boycotted the conference—and the Americans must jointly take the responsibility), UNSCCUR could not deal forthrightly with the relationship between resources and peace. Nor could the conference directly discuss economics, cultural patterns, politics or the true facts of population growth—matters upon which the social scientists, excluded by edict from the meeting, are authorities. Since scientists are human beings, they made many indirect references to these problems; but that was all.

The original directive specifically stated that UNSCCUR would have "no policy-making responsibilities," that it would not "formulate recommendations to" governments. Actually, it did not even have authority to pass the resolutions necessary to continue work in the technical field. Nor could the power and medical aspects of atomic energy be discussed—a prohibition insisted upon by our own State Department, despite the fact that so much of the world looks to atomic energy as the new great resource. With the conference circumscribed in all these ways, it was inevitable that social and economic problems would be evaded. The availability of resources and of their distribution, curbs on monopoly and on the private right to do public damage, had to go by the board.

These were the deficiencies of UNSCCUR. The responsibility for them rests more on the diplomats than on the scientists, but the latter accepted the restrictions. In the future, as in the past, this could mean trouble for a world which needs to have the benefits of the scientists as citizens as well as technicians.



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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Mexican Oil*

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has shown both imagination and statesmanlike understanding in his grasp of the importance of developing Mexican oil resources. The New York *Herald Tribune* of September 1 quoted him as saying that negotiations for a United States loan to help Mexico in its oil program would be resumed. Such a loan would mean to the United States additional supplies of oil, in an emergency, that would not have to be transported in vulnerable tankers.

But if President Truman really wishes to reach an understanding with Mexico regarding its precious oil, he could make no better start than by uprooting from the State Department certain gentlemen who have subordinated our national interest in Mexican oil to that of some selfish American oil companies.

As Secretary of the Interior, I discussed with important Mexican officials the possibility of an agreement between their country and our own. We would supply the capital necessary to develop the oil potentialities of Mexico, which for its part would make available to us supplies of oil that might be vital to us in the event of another war. President Roosevelt became interested in this proposal, but he was too busy with the war to devote the time necessary to force action from the mulish State Department.

The State Department sabotaged President Roosevelt's oil policy. Despite sharply issued orders, it held up the building of a refinery near Mexico City to produce 100-octane gasoline. It has been showing the same recalcitrance about lending money to Mexico for oil development. During several years of the delaying action by the State Department, its Petroleum Adviser was one Max W. Thornburg, whose oil connections, both before and since his tenure with the State Department, have been with Standard Oil interests. Thornburg's solicitude for American oil companies in Mexico, despite the policy of President Roosevelt, became so intolerable that I objected to his further retention by the Department of State. Thornburg was working directly under Dean Acheson, then Undersecretary of State. Finally, for whatever reason, Thornburg ceased to function there.

Whoever he may be, there is still at least one "Thornburg" at work in the State Department. Someone is more interested in requiring Mexico to forgo the sovereign power under which it properly expropriated certain American oil properties, than he is in strengthening the oil position of the United States. The actual break between the State Department and Senator Antonio Bermudez, who spent a number of weeks in Washington in the spring negotiating for a loan of $200 million for Mexican oil development, occurred while the Secretary was attending the meeting of the foreign ministers in Paris.

Even so, as Secretary of State, Acheson is officially responsible. Whether he knew of the harm that was being done and did nothing about it, or was ignorant of what was going on in his department, he is not functioning as he should. It has been alleged that Acheson did not know of the breakdown in the oil negotiations with Mexico until it had occurred, and that the same was true of President Truman. In any event, the latter has recently shown his awareness of the situation, and even Secretary Acheson must realize that some subordinate either blundered or sabotaged.

A columnist in whom I have little confidence, but who nevertheless might be right in this instance, has written that the loan proposal was handled at the State Department by Edward G. Miller Jr., former member of the New York law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, which "represents vast oil interests here and abroad." Whoever may have done this shady work, Secretary Acheson still has the duty of doing some long overdue house-cleaning in his cobwebby department.

Senator Bermudez, who directs Petroleos Mexicanos, the government agency that administers Mexican oil, has been quoted as saying that the loan that he tried to negotiate for his country was blocked by American oil interests. If so, the dirty work was done through the State Department. Aware as I am of the trail of oil that leads through the State Department, I am prepared to believe this. But something more is involved. President Truman touched on it when he denied that Edwin W. Pauley had had anything to do with this negotiation.

For purposes of his own, Pauley had been trying to persuade the Mexican officials that he could help them get the loan. There are high American officials who are so sensitive to Pauley that their impulse is to oppose anything that he may advocate. Pauley has had nothing to do with this loan, except that his self-projected shadow has done it harm. However, President Truman's statement ought to make clear to Senator Bermudez and his associates what is known to be the fact in Washington, namely, that Pauley's active interest in behalf of the loan would be in the nature of a kiss of death.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE WRONG SORT OF SOCIALISM

by G. D. H. Cole

ECONOMISTS HOSTILE to socialism have frequently asserted that a socialist economy will necessarily be without any rational means of pricing goods and services or of deciding what to produce. They have based this argument either on the contention that socialism will abolish the competitive market and thus be unable to allow production to respond freely to consumers' preferences, or, when driven from this ground, on the contention that there can be no rational choice of priorities unless there is a free market in the "factors of production," so that rent, interest, wages and salaries can be determined in accordance with the principle of marginal productivity.

THE ECONOMIC THEORY OF A SOCIALIST ECONOMY, by Burnham P. Beckwith (The Stanford University Press; $5).

There has been already, as Burnham Beckwith points out, a considerable controversy over these issues, some socialists attempting to show that a socialist economy will be fully able to square its planning with the laws laid down by orthodox economists, and others questioning whether these laws possess the validity claimed for them and holding that socialism will involve a new, and by no means less rational, principle of its own.

Beckwith is among those who venerate the orthodox laws—or at any rate that of marginal productivity—enough to use them as a basis for socialist calculation of values. He denies that the laws of orthodox economics apply in fact to capitalist societies, but holds that under socialism the law of marginal productivity will come fully into its own. So great is his reliance upon this law that he expects a socialist economy, in pursuance of it, to budget for losses in all industries working under increasing returns (because only the additional costs incurred in finding the marginal units will be considered in fixing prices), and proposes to sweep away all collective bargaining, as well as all legislative action, in settling wages, leaving the socialist trust in control of each industry to adjust wages so as to balance exactly the supply of and demand for labor in each establishment.

He also, of course, requires that there shall be no planning of what is to be produced, save in the form of an attempt by each trust to respond to the consumers' demands as expressed in price offers. True, he recognizes that the principle of marginal productivity cannot apply over the considerable field of what he calls "free goods"—that is, goods and services supplied by the state—without making a specific price-charge for each unit consumed; but he holds that outside this field the principle should apply everywhere, modified only by subsidies or taxes intended to encourage or discourage consumption of particular beneficial or noxious products.

Most socialists will agree with Beckwith in holding that consumers should be allowed the fullest freedom under socialism to choose between alternative goods and that socialist planners should set out in the main to get produced what people want most rather than what the planners think they ought to want. But it is quite another thing to argue that only costs at the margin of production should be taken into account in deciding what to produce—a contention which would in practice involve moving most of the basic industries and services at a heavy loss which would have to be met by general taxation—and it is yet another to urge that wages and other earned incomes should be left to be settled purely by supply and demand.

Beckwith in fact modifies the consequence of this latter doctrine by a proposal to adopt a form of "social dividend" that would be payable to every citizen apart from earnings; but even so his proposal to sweep away all bargaining and all wages-and-hours legislation in the name of human liberty will certainly be unacceptable to the great majority of socialists. His only argument for it is the need to relate wage-rewards to marginal productivity (with an upper limit on permissible earnings); but most socialists will not agree that such a relation is desirable or possible even outside the large field of public services, where he admits it cannot be applied.

I have dealt at some length with these parts of Beckwith's book which bear directly on the "economic theory" of socialism in a formal sense. A large part of his book is concerned with quite different issues. Beckwith has a megalomaniac admiration for bigness and centralization. He assumes that socialism means not only socializing every enterprise, down to the very smallest, but also centralizing every industry under a single vast and centrally controlled trust. He appears to believe that there are literally no limits to the size of what can be centrally controlled, and that big enterprises are necessarily always superior to smaller ones. As an ardent Taylorite, he has no use for any ideas of industrial democracy, as distinct from central political control by a majority of the people. He has unbounded faith in experts and supermen as the best judges not only of technical but also of human issues. Indeed, he does not seem to recognize any human issues in industry, except the consumers' desire for free choice in the use of income. Consequently, his conception of socialism is bureaucratic enough to justify all the familiar fears of anti-

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socialists and to make any liberal socialist recoil with horror from the prospect of living in a society organized after his prescription.

Over and above all this, Beckwith trails many coats. He rejoices in the belief that he is being very, very scientific, and that being anything except scientific is an act of superstitious folly. He is content to dismiss in a sentence all moral preferences as mere customs of the herd; and he flings the adjective "metaphysical" about as a term of abuse for anyone who ventures to dispute that science can potentially answer every question that is worth asking. By this time, most of us who still profess moral values are sick to death of this nonsense: I mention it here merely because it is evidently at the root both of the complete dogmatism with which Beckwith approaches the problems of socialist organization (in these days, the so-called believers in science are the dogmatists) and also of his seizing avidly on the abstract theorizations of orthodox economics and translating them into the supposedly concrete realities of his impossible socialist society.

With all this, he shows himself an able casuist, and makes many good and sound points. What is wrong with him is not lack of ability, but a complete inability to appreciate human values or to realize the Moloch-like characteristics of the socialist Leviathan that he has made in the image of economic orthodoxy. I suspect that Beckwith felt himself to be inverting Marshall in much the same triumphant spirit of paradox as Marx felt in inverting Hegel and Ricardo. The result is much the same. Incidentally, he is not nearly so original as he seems to think: his knowledge of the English writing on his subject is narrow and he appears to know little or nothing of the contributions of the earlier socialists, from Fourier and Owen onwards.

George Douglas Howard Cole is Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory at Oxford University and also Chairman of the Fabian Society. He has written many books on political and economic subjects, as well as historical works and (with his wife) detective stories. His latest book, World in Transition, has just been published in the US by the Oxford University Press. He is on the board of the New Statesman and Nation.

TRIAL BY PREJUDICE

OUR VANISHING CIVIL LIBERTIES, by O. John Rogge (Gaer Associates; $3).

O. JOHN ROGGE'S BOOK, *Our Vanishing Civil Liberties,* tells the story of some of the instances of injustice, "kangaroo methods" and character assassination that mark the hysterical order of the day—cases that have crossed the path of just one individual:

A civilian employee of the War Department in Tokyo was dismissed. He received a letter of which this is an accurate paraphrase.

"Paragraph 1. You are dismissed for reasons which are confidential.

"Paragraph 2. You are given five days in which to answer the charges in Paragraph 1."

Motion pictures were screened for Communist propaganda. Experts were Ayn Rand, who thought that "lend-lease was a Communist plot," and the mother of Ginger Rogers, who declared that "None But the Lonely Heart" was a Communistic picture because the Hollywood *Reporter* characterized it as "moody and sombre throughout in the Russian manner." Jack Warner testified: "Some of these lines [in movie scripts] have innuendoes and double meanings and things like that and you have to take eight or ten Harvard law courses to find out what they mean." "They are very subtle," said Mr. Stripling. "Exceedingly so," said Jack Warner.

Here are stories of what happens when Congressional and state committees, loyalty boards, universities, corporate groups, Chambers of Commerce and newspapers stir up a witch-hunt and try to classify American citizens on the basis of their thoughts, associations, political views and such like. We start with the story of eighteen persons connected with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee who were indicted and found guilty of contempt for refusing to make public at committee hearings books and records which might have meant death or jail for some of their supporters in Spain —books and records theretofore at all times open to the President's War Relief Control Board and the Treasury Department.

We carry on the story of Dies to Thomas to Wood, and the Hollywood "circus." Next come several humble individuals whose only claim to fame is that they are symbols of the eternal fight for decency, and who tell their story of hardship and ruination brought about without opportunity for defense—this on the government theory that since they have committed no crime they are not entitled to due process of law. We find the Attorney General, without trial or hearing, determining what organizations are subversive (whatever that may mean) and classifying citizens by fiat. We find people sent to jail and held without bail because they refuse to say whether they are Communists, on the ground that the answer may incriminate them. "Not in good faith," says the court. But in another court eleven men are on trial for the alleged crime of advocating the overthrow of government by force, which is said to be the purpose of the Communists.

Rogge's portrayal is a sound, indignant and eloquent tirade against the hysterical onslaughts on democracy and our Bill of Rights. But, in my opinion, he has been inclined to take his private emotions for a public movement. I am afraid that this was his attitude when he prosecuted our crackpot seditionists in Washington. Even after the case ended in a mistrial, Rogge went to Germany to gather more evidence. His split with the Department of Justice occurred when he made public the names of various individuals who he, a government official, felt should be branded as playing the Fascist game, not because they had committed a crime, but because of their questionable associations. Yet his book, rightly, condemns judgment on this ground, particularly by government officials.

That today our civil liberties should appear to Rogge to be "vanishing" is quite natural. His time, his thoughts and his abilities are consumed almost entirely with defending the victims of the varieties of the Gestapo which poison the thought of today. He seems to

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have forgotten that we have lived through and regretted like periods in our history (with the help largely of men like himself). Rogge seems to me to be on doubtful ground when he lays the present hullabaloo to Wall Street, "Fascist-minded" Americans, the Marshall Plan and the failure to support Henry Wallace for President.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

GIDE'S WAY

THE FRUITS OF THE EARTH, by André Gide (Alfred A. Knopf; $3).

THE PRESENT VOLUME combines in a first American edition two of Gide's books: *The Fruits of the Earth*, written in 1897, and *The New Fruits*, in 1935. The two really form a whole, complementing each other as their author's testaments of youth and age, and display the same structure (or lack of it) as collections of pensées, aphorisms, prayers, exhortations and poems, as records of daily experiences, observations of nature, and travel in Europe, Africa and the Near East. Each is addressed to an imaginary young man—a possible pupil, or companion, or, in the later book, a younger second self who shall relive his experiences. In the first case it is "Nathaniel," in the second "comrade"; in either case "you who will perhaps some day read me."

Gide is a writer who is said to have formulated a "doctrine"—an embarrassing attribution as it usually results in a simplification (and ossification) of a man's thought. Indeed, Gide complained in a preface to the first book, written after thirty years, that to the "fluctuating and disengaged state" described therein it was customary to confine him, ignoring what he claims as the radical change and progress of his "mind and heart." Without ignoring this claim, it is still apparent that this book, and the second written almost forty years later, does contain a vivid and complete account of Gide's mind: if not of a "doctrine," then of habits and emphases of thought.

The original book was written in the familiar Gidean situation of the man who has returned from near death to an intense love and celebration of life. It has been seen (Gide says in the preface mentioned) as "only a glorification of desire and instinct," but "what I find in it even more is an apology for a life *stripped* to bareness." The books make conflicting claims to these interpretations, but eventually, in the peculiar Gidean synthesis, they come to seem pretty much the same thing.

At the beginning of "this manual of escape and liberation," the narrator has devoted three years to travel "to forget all that I have learned with my head," and to relearn by direct sensuous observation and the criterion of his emotions. The "bareness" is the loneliness and privation of extreme subjectivity. ("Let the *importance* lie in your look, not in the thing you look at.") One of the most significant statements in the book, in which the "synthesis" is inherent, discloses: "I chastised myself gladly, taking more pleasure in the chastisement than in the fault—so intoxicating was the pride I took in not sinning simply." Or, as he says in another place, "I gave my pride the satisfaction I refused my flesh."

Far from "desire and instinct," the prime impulse in the author's scale of values is deliberate and intellectual; sensuality is subordinated—even ordered—to the "intoxicating" pleasure of "pride." "Nothing," he writes, "amuses me more than a system of ethics. . . . I want every single joy I taste to be attached to one." But the analysis of personality here is as shrewd as it is forthright, and later Gide indicates the interaction of his passions: "True, I have often been glad to justify my acts to myself by a doctrine, and even by a complete system of ordered thought; but at other times I could not help suspecting that I was merely providing a shelter for my sensuality."

This book is addressed specifically to Youth and its emphasis is entirely on that blessed state (which M. Gide, as attested by so many dubious compliments, has so remarkably retained). There are, of course, imprints—and particularly in descriptive passages—of his extensive literary gifts. The book is certainly a curiosity among the works of a major influence in contemporary letters. But the "Nathaniels" and "comrades" who can take with appropriate solemnity its blandishments and exhortations must be very young indeed.

JOHN FARRELLY

ON THE AIR: Kidding the Act

CBS HAS PUT "County Fair" back on the Saturday schedule, at two o'clock. After playing for several years on Saturday at noon, "County Fair" was given a nighttime trial during the summer. It did not fit among the neons. Its humor is too homey and kindly, its audience-participation format too close to genuine amicability between producer and participant, its giveaway angle too far removed from the swag-bag's reliance on heavy bribery, its sop to "public service" much too modest and incidental. It is "County Fair's" unity, its skillful integration of so many techniques, that gives it life and pace; it is a custom-made job by craftsmen working as a team.

When I first became attracted to radio seriously, there were only two really good radio columns in the New York dailies. Ben Gross was, and is, the dean of radio critics, on the *Daily News*. The other was Leonard Carlton, who wrote about radio seriously, with humor and understanding, on the old New York *Post*. Now Carlton produces "County Fair." Sometimes I wonder whether he considers his job an opportunity for revenge against the industry that introduced him to hypertension.

When "Truth or Consequences" ran its "Walking Man" contest, "County Fair" got a lady to try to identify the "Sleeping Man"—who turned out to be her husband snoring into a microphone wired to a tape recorder. Silly

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awards aired by networks boasting of the radio star of the year, movie of the century or man of the era, got their payoff on the "Fair" through a contest to choose the "Contestant of the Year." Only those who had won at least $20,000 worth of loot on some of the major swagbag programs were eligible for that race. Four of these were rounded up and put on the air for a hilarious take-off on the shows that had made them "rich."

Perhaps the most publicized of "County Fair's" accomplishments was its recent proof that, in fact, a molehill could be made into a mountain. Carlton came onto that idea when, leafing through a postal guide, he discovered that in West Virginia there is a village (pop. 93) called Mole Hill.

Within four weeks after the cataclysmic disclosure that there was a real Mole Hill, Carlton and Hal Davis had achieved the previously impossible. Davis is the program's press agent who employs diplomatic tact in the process of tub-thumping. All that was needed for the elevation of Mole Hill was the coöperation of one Governor (Patterson), a Representative (Bailey), West Virginia's senior Senator (Kilgore), the United States Post Office Department, half of the state's press, the Farm Bureau, the endorsement of a petition by a majority of Mole Hill's inhabitants, and the willingness of the Democratic state highway department to repair the heretofore neglected eight-mile road between Republican Mole Hill and Pennsboro. On July 3, at high noon, the old village of Mole Hill became officially Mountain, West Virginia.

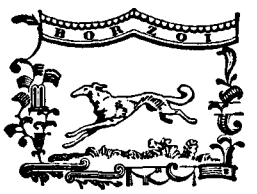
"County Fair" loves clichés and tests them scientifically. It has proved, among other things, that an old dog can be taught new tricks and that even trained pugilists cannot punch their way out of a paper bag. Above all, however, it has shown that, at least on one level, radio has a genuine sense of humor. It can kid itself, amuse its listeners—and even please a hard-boiled client like Borden's milk with an extraordinarily high "sponsor identification" rating. SAUL CARSON

THEATRE: Off-Broadway

THERE IS a distressing contradiction these days between the literary material of the off-Broadway theatre and the quality of its productions. The plays chosen by these theatres require not less, but more, skill and artistic insight than the conventional product. The vanguard theatre in Paris is its leading theatre; the theatrical "left" there is the acknowledged *center*. This was true to some extent in our country in the days of the Washington Square and Provincetown Players, in the Theatre Guild of the first ten years, in the Group Theatre. Today the most distinguished plays downtown often appear weaker than the mediocre ones uptown. It is not true that a good play is good under any circumstances.

Earlier in the summer the group named "Off-Broadway" presented Gertrude Stein's "Yes Is for a Very Young Man." I left the performance with no opinion of it at all. This does not mean that the production was bad; it means that the company was not able to give Gertrude Stein's particular mood—her essence—the specific theatrical body without which a play has no real existence on the stage.

O'Casey's "The Silver Tassie," presented by The Interplayers, troubled me because it is an eruptive, uncoördinated piece which might be said to display more genius than ability. Such a play needs overwhelming actors and a fiery stagecraft that can fuse its disparate elements into a burning unity. One cannot blame The Interplayers for not possessing what is lacking even to the better-equipped folk on Broadway. Still it is difficult to speak definitely



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of "The Silver Tassie" on the basis of their production.

O'Casey is more a force than an artist. His work vibrates with passion, but is often dramaturgically gauche. He writes poetry only when he is unconscious of doing so; his symbolism is sometimes mawkish; his humor is sweeping, savage and poignant. He has written some of the best scenes in the English-language drama of this century, but, as with many first-rate people, there is something uncouth and culturally juvenile in his work.

Undoubtedly O'Casey hates war with a searing rage, but as an anti-war play "The Silver Tassie" is almost foolish. The true theme of the play lies in O'Casey's feeling for the Irish people. The Irish, with their lyric imagination, their transcendental yearnings, their Rabelaisian playfulness, their religious fervor, are also maddening dunderheads, imbecile wastrels of life. Thus O'Casey, while remaining intensely national, is also universal; what he is saying of the people he understands with so much tenderness and spite is true generally of humankind. The best of it dreams nobly and lives vilely. The war in "The Silver Tassie" is projected as a symbol of humanity's self-desecration. And the (Irish) people go on living in innocent and clownish heedlessness.

August Strindberg was a dramatist of greater dimension. The reason for the success of "The Father" as done by Studio 7 at the Provincetown Playhouse is that, in a manner that suggests the tense and harmless melodramatics of "Angel Street," it pulls at all sorts of psychic strings without making it incumbent upon us to pursue any of them to a central source. There is an anticipation of Freud, there is a recognition of the materialist interpretation of modern marriage, there is the mutual resentment of the sexes.

Tightly made in the framework of realism, the play is a fine muddle. Strindberg's urge to express his personal grievances and unresolved neuroses, combined with his quest for large and generally binding human truths—so that a peculiar Scandinavian mysticism seems to be living in uneasy wedlock with a scientifically inclined intelligence—makes for a play that is intense to the point of strenuousness, often moving, sometimes absurd and almost always exciting. It is one thing to be a genius; it is another to be right. Strindberg was a genius who was rarely right. He was an inspired prophet who was also a little monstrous. . . . Studio 7's production of "The Father" is slightly rhetorical and stagy. It is technically competent, but artistically amateurish. It lacks a sense of Strindberg's complex spirit.

Moliere's "The Bourgeois Gentleman"—in its time a revolutionary play in farce disguise—is done by the Off-Broadway group at the Cherry Lane Theatre as a kind of kiddish prank. It is perfectly proper for young American actors to do such a play in this way. The production has a nice Greenwich Village party brio (why bother about mentioning commedia dell' arte?), and for that I enjoyed it. It is ably directed and several of the performances are youthfully gifted. Molière was no snob; he would recognize his progeny in the show on Commerce Street.

HAROLD CLURMAN

MOVIES

Promised Land

THE RECENT WARFARE out of which emerged the new state of Israel should provide superb story material for the screen, and perhaps in another generation it may do so. Two current attempts, however, would seem to prove that the movies are not yet ready to make popular entertainment out of the ambuscades of Palestine.

"The Earth Cries Out," from Italy, and "Sword in the Desert," by Universal-International, involve themselves in one of the most complicated and bitter of struggles in an entirely too gingerly fashion. They apparently do not wish to confuse their audiences with subtleties of motive and they certainly have tried to avoid the charge

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of partisanship while at the same time telling their stories from the Jewish viewpoint. The Italian film is more sincerely concerned with the tragic dilemmas of the situation, the American version is more vividly staged; they both leave you confused by unresolved conflicts and irritated by their refusal to enlist your allegiance. The almost identical boy-loves-girl endings are irritatingly inadequate.

The frameworks of the pictures are very much alike: a shipload of illegal immigrants is landed on the coast; the British fail to intercept them, but their arrival sets off, or coincides with, a particularly bloody episode in the Anglo-Jewish hostilities. In "The Earth Cries Out," the conflict between the Irgun and Haganah is the focal struggle of the plot; "Sword in the Desert" tells the story as a simple melodrama of heroic pioneer against brutal constabulary. It has, therefore, the more difficulty with the "let's not be nasty to the British" policy displayed by both pictures. Its gaudy cops-and-robbers script requires that the English should appear as arrogant and savage dupes of the wilier settlers, but every few moments it pauses to let the British show their better natures. This has the effect of making them seem monstrous hypocrites, and it is little wonder that the picture has been mentioned in the House of Commons.

The direction of the Italian film is wooden and the action slow, but its events are plausible and perhaps stick quite close to actual occurrences. The American cast, headed by Dana Andrews, Marta Toren and Stephen McNally, is handled with Hollywood professional ease, but "Sword in the Desert," hung on a contrived plot, relies heavily on fancy disguises, hairbreadth escapes and the kind of vulgarity that employs a comic Irishman for laughs and uses Christmas Eve and the little town of Bethlehem to jerk a few obvious tears.

It is curious that neither production was able to seize on the central point that, after a journey of 2,000 years, the Jews have reached their home. Surely that is a fact large and exciting enough for a scenario and it can be told without all this embarrassed hopping about on eggs.

"The Earth Cries Out" is released with a dubbed-in English soundtrack. This method of editing a foreign film, common in Europe but little used here, has the advantage of being able to handle complicated dialogue with a clarity impossible in short subtitles. However, in this instance, the voices sound transcribed and in the closeups you get the feeling that your eyes and ears are out of synchronization.

ROBERT HATCH

BANDWAGON

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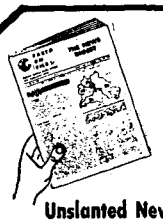

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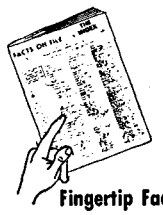

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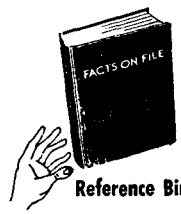

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